

## Message Text

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42

ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 IO-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

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USIA-15 SAB-01 SAJ-01 ACDA-10 OMB-01 EB-07 COME-00

STR-04 CIEP-02 FEAE-00 INT-05 TRSE-00 /117 W

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R 181157Z FEB 75

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5623

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY LONDON

UNCLAS TEL AVIV 1042

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, IS, EG, XF

SUBJ: RABIN ON ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN NEGOTIATIONS

REF: FBIS TEL AVIV 141935Z FEB 75

1. SUMMARY. SHORTLY AFTER SECRETARY'S DEPARTURE FROM ISRAEL, PRIME MINISTER RABIN FEBRUARY 14 IN ISRAEL BROADCASTING TELEVISION INTERVIEW SUMMED UP GOI APPROACH TO NEGOTIATION OF SECOND STAGE ISRAEL-EGYPT AGREEMENT (REF). HIS COMMENTS DID NOT DEVELOP ANY NEW IDEAS, BUT THEY PROVIDED SOME FURTHER ELABORATION OF HIS VIEWS ON CURRENT NEGOTIATING OPTIONS, CONCEPT OF NONBELLIGERENCY AS A STAGE TOWARD PEACE AGREEMENT, AND LINKAGE BETWEEN US STAGED APPROACH AND GENEVA CONFERENCE. FOLLOWING ARE RELEVANT EXCERPTS.

2. GOI NEGOTIATING POSITION. QUOTE. THE GOVERNMENT DECISION SPEAKS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF TERRITORIAL CONCESSION  
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BETWEEN 30 TO 50 KILOMETERS THAT DO NOT INLUCE THE PASSES

AND THE OIL FIELDS. OF COURSE, IN RETURN FOR LIMITED WITHDRAWAL, A NOT SO LARGE POLITICAL QUID PRO QUO SHOULD BE EXPECTED. AT ANY RATE, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE INTENTION IS TO GET A POLITICAL QUID PRO QUO FOR ANY INTERIM SETTLEMENT..IT IS KNOWN THAT I EXPRESSED MY PERSONAL VIEW--AND THIS HAS NOT YET BEEN APPROVED BY THE CABINET--THAT IN RETURN FOR EGYPT'S RENUNCIATION OF WAR AGAINST ISRAEL, RENUNCIATION OF A STATE OF WAR, PUBLICLY AND IN A BINDING MANNER, ISRAEL WOULD BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER THE DEMILITARIZATION OF THE PASSES AND LEAVING THE AREA OF THE OIL FIELDS IN ABU RODEIS. BUT THIS WOULD BE DONE ONLY WHEN EGYPT ANNOUNCES PUBLICLY AND IN A BINDING MANNER THAT THE WAR HAS ENDED BETWEEN IT AND ISRAEL, AND THE RENUNCIATION OF WAR IS NOT LINKED WITH WHAT WILL HAPPEN BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EACH ONE OF THE OTHER ARAB STATES. END QUOTE.

3. MEANING OF NONBELLIGERENCY. QUOTE. IN MY VIEW, PEACE IS MUCH MORE THAN NOT MAINTAINING A STATE OF BELLIGERENCY OR WAR. I BELIEVE THAT PEACE WITH NEIGHBORING STATES IS FIRST OF ALL--AS LONG AS THEY ARE STILL IN A STATE OF WAR--THE ENDING OF THE STATE OF WAR, AND FURTHERMORE THE BUILDING OF A SYSTEM OF RELATIONS OF PEACE. RELATIONS OF PEACE HAVE A POSITIVE ELEMENT OF COOPERATION, THE READINESS OF ONE SIDE TO HELP THE OTHER. THEREFORE, TO ME PEACE IS MUCH MORE THAN THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE STATE OF WAR. THEREFORE, IN THE STAGES OF PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE I DISTINGUISH BETWEEN ONLY THE TERMINATION OF THE STATE OF WAR--WHICH BASICALLY MEANS, AS I HAVE ALREADY SAID, THAT THERE IS NO FURTHER USE OF FORCE OR THREAT OF THE USE OF FORCE IN EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI RELATIONS.(AS HEARD). THIS FOR ME IS A STATE OF NONBELLIGERENCY. I ASSUME THAT THERE ARE JURIST AND INTERNATIONAL LAW, BUT BASICALLY THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IN EVERY INTERNATIONAL CONTRACT IS WHAT ONE STATE MAKES AN UNDERTAKING TOWARD ANOTHER IN CLEAR AND CONCRETE TERMS. EN QUOTE.

4. NEGOTIATING OPTIONS. QUOTE TWO POSSIBILITIES HAVE BEEN CREATED--A LIMITED POSSIBILITY AND A BROAD POSSIBILITY. IT IS CLEAR THAT IN RETURN FOR A LIMITED POSSIBILITY THE POLITICAL QUID PRO QUO IS MORE LIMITED. AS FOR THE BROADER POSSIBILITY, THE QUID PRO QUO IS UNEQUIVOCAL--A DECLARED TERMINATION OF THE UNCLASSIFIED

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STATE OF BELLIGERENCY, THE STATE OF WAR, BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT. THE BASIS FOR ANY SETTLEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT IS FIRST OF ALL AN EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI SETTLEMENT OR AGREEMENT--A SETTLEMENT THAT WOULD BE WRITTEN AND SIGNED BY THE TWO SIDES AS PART OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. END QUOTE.

5. US STAGED APPROACH AND GENEVA CONFERENCE. QUOTE. EVERYTHING THAT IS PRESENTED AS A BILATERAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN

AN ARAB STATE AND ISRAEL MUST BE FORMALIZED AND ACQUIRE A  
LEGAL, DECLARED STATUS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE GENEVA  
CONFERENCE. IF IT IS POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE AN INTERIM SETTLEMENT  
BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT, THIS TOO MUST BE PART OF THE  
GENEVA CONFERENCE. IF AT A LATER STAGE WE WILL BE ABLE TO  
ACHIEVE A CONTRACTUAL PEACE AGREEMENT WITH ANY ONE OF THE  
NEIGHBORING ARAB STATES, IT, TOO, WILL HAVE TO  
BE PART OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. FOR SOME REASON OR  
ANOTHER, THE PUBLIC HAS GOTTEN THE IDEA THAT THE GENEVA  
CONFERENCE IS A SORT OF SYMPOSIUM OR MEETING OF ALL THE  
PARTIES IN THE PRESENCE OF THE BIG POWERS AND THE UN  
REPRESENTATIVE, AND THE PARTIES TALK IN A MANNER WHICH WAS  
ONCE ACCEPTABLE AT THE UNITED NATIONS. I AM AFRAID THAT SUCH A  
MEETING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE WITHOUT PRIOR PREPARATION  
AND WITHOUT KNOWING FOR WHAT REASONS THE PARTIES ARE GOING TO  
THE CONFERENCE, WILL EVENTUALLY LEAD TO AN AGGRAVATION OF  
POSITIONS AND A DEADLOCK, WITH ALL THE CONSEQUENCES ENTAILED IN  
THIS. WE HAVE NO REASON TO BE AFRAID OF THIS, BUT WE HAVE  
EVERY REASON TO SEARCH IN DIRECTIONS WHICH WOULD PERHAPS INSURE  
FOR US MUCH BETTER RESULTS, RESULTS THAT WOULD ADVANCE US  
TOWARD PEACE. EN QUOTE.

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